

marks and characters found at the north-east and south-east angles of the Haram Area, it has been thought desirable to have them photographed. This is now done, and subscribers can have copies of the four photographs of these interesting letters at the same price as the other photographs in the Society's series.

Reports will be found of upwards of eighty Lectures delivered for the Fund in the last three months. Through the agency of these, the work of the Fund is made known, and friends are especially invited to join in promoting these meetings.

Attention is invited to the Treasurer's statement appended to the balance-sheet of the year 1869 (see page 261). It will be found that there are two main streams of expenditure—the larger on the exploration itself, the smaller, on the subscribers who support the exploration. And while the Committee recognise the duty of making known to their subscribers the results of their work, they hope that subscribers themselves will aid them by disseminating copies of their publications, and by advocating their claims to support.

THE MOABITE STONE.

CAPTAIN WARREN'S FIRST ACCOUNT OF THE INSCRIPTION FROM MOAB.

January 21, 1870.

In the summer of 1868 a gentleman, riding past Diban, saw a stone with characters on it, and his observations appear to have excited the curiosity of the natives, as about six weeks after a man from Kerak came to tell me of a black stone with writing on it, and wanted me to go over and see it. On making inquiries, I heard that others were moving in the matter, and I did nothing whatever for twelve months, when the whole story became current in Jerusalem, and M. Ganneau and I were told the story by a third party, and we were both astonished to hear that an attempt had been made to get the stone before a squeeze had been taken. I heard nothing more of the matter until my return from the Lebanon in November, when an "Adwan" met me on my way from Jaffa, who said he had come to welcome me back. But thinking he had not come across the Jordan merely for that purpose, I went on in front with him, and, after several preliminaries, he told me that there had been an inscribed stone across the Jordan, which the natives had broken sooner than let some Franks take it, and that the French Consul had tried to get a squeeze of it, and had failed. On seeing that there really was a chance of the inscription getting lost to the world, I gave the man squeeze paper to apply to the broken portions of the stone, or to the whole, if by any chance it still remained intact.

He appeared in a few days with a squeeze of a Nabatean inscription, which at first he said was from Diban; but when he found that would

not do, he said that the stone was broken, so he had done what he could, and had brought this from Um er Russas. I sent him away. In the meantime I saw M. Ganneau, who told me that he had been more fortunate than I supposed, and actually had got a squeeze of the whole stone, but a very imperfect one.

About a week ago my Bedouin came up again with squeezes of broken portions of the stone, so that there can be no doubt that it really is broken. I wrote the same day to M. Ganneau, and offered him the use of them to assist him in his work, as I considered the squeezes excellent. He said he had also got duplicates of these squeezes the same day; but as they were not each perfect in all their parts, he took copies of mine, and offered to give me a translation of my squeezes and a memorandum of the sense of the whole, so that there might be a simultaneous publication of the matter in the papers of Paris and London.

The Bedouin tells me that the Modir of Salt, acting under the instructions of the Governor of Nablus, had put pressure upon the people with regard to this stone, and had so exasperated them, that sooner than give it up they had put a fire under it and thrown cold water on it, and so broken it, and had then distributed the bits among the different families, to place in the granaries and act as blessings upon the corn, for they say that without the stone (or its equivalent in hard cash) a blight will fall upon their crops.

Letter I.

MR. GROVE'S LETTER TO THE "TIMES."

STR,—Captain Warren, R.E., the active and able agent of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem, has made a discovery* which promises to be of great importance, and of which I hasten to communicate the main particulars, reserving a more detailed description for a future letter.

A few months ago Captain Warren heard of a stone covered with writing, which was said to be existing at Dhibân, the ancient Dibon, on the east side of the Dead Sea, in the heart of the old country of Moab. The stone was then whole, but on finding that the Franks were inquiring for it the Arabs broke it up into several fragments, which they hid in the granaries of the neighbouring villages. By the tact and perseverance of Captain Warren and M. Ganneau, of the French consulate, the whole of these pieces appear to have been recovered. Captain Warren is in possession of two of them; others, as I understand, are in M. Ganneau's hands. The larger of the two, 22in. by 14in., belongs to the centre of the lower part of the stone, and the smaller, 12in. by 9in., to the right hand top corner. The stone itself appears from Captain Warren's sketch to be 3ft. 5in. high, by 1ft. 9in. wide. Its sides taper very slightly from the bottom upwards, and the top is rounded to nearly a semicircle. The writing runs across the stone in straight lines about 1½in. apart. At present we have only full-sized tracings of our two pieces, but the others have been sent to Paris, and copies and "squeezes" are on their way to us. Meanwhile not a moment has been lost in sending the tracings to

* See Mr. Grove's second Letter, p. 179.

Mr. Deutch, of the British Museum, the eminent Semitic scholar, to whom the Palestine Fund has been more than once deeply indebted, and I subjoin a letter from him about them.

I conclude with two remarks :—1. If the stone be a Moabite record it is the first fragment of the literature of that people that has yet been encountered ; for though chapters xxii., xxiii., and xxiv. of the Book of Numbers, and verses 5 to 8 of the 6th chapter of Micah, are probably from Moabite sources, we have no means of knowing how far they have suffered in adapting them to the Hebrew records. The indications of Isaiah xv. and xvi. imply that the nation of Moab was more civilised and important than we are apt to suppose, and the general interest attaching to the discovery of such a portion of its literature is therefore naturally great. But (2) if the "Mesha" whose name appears in the first line is the hero of the tragical story of 2 Kings iii., then we have indeed a discovery which may well make us stand breathless till the whole document has been deciphered. To find a passage of Moabite chronicle so parallel in date to a portion of the Bible, is an event of no mean importance ; and it should stimulate us to further researches in the same direction.

I may add that Captain Warren's labours in Jerusalem are not abated, and that they have lately yielded remarkable results, which I hope shortly to send you.

The Fund has recently sent out Mr. E. H. Palmer—whose competence in vernacular Arabic was fully proved in the late Ordnance Survey of Sinai—and Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake to that vast tract of desert which lies between Sinai and the Holy Land, with the view to discover whether traces can be found of the wanderings of the children of Israel. These gentlemen are carrying on their mission with great vigour and apparent accuracy, and I hope on a future occasion to lay some of their discoveries before your readers. At present they would require maps for their elucidation.

Your obedient servant,

GEORGE GROVE, Hon. Sec. Palestine Fund.

Office of the Fund, 9, Pall Mall East, Feb. 8.

"My dear Grove,—I hasten, in reply to your message, to transmit to you the following preliminary notes for the information of your Committee.

"The Moabite inscription, of parts of which you have forwarded me tracings, is of very great importance indeed. Being at present in possession of about a third of the whole only—this third being copy of squeezes taken from two mutilated fragments of the upper and lower portions of the monument in question—I refrain from dwelling on its apparent general purport. The 26 lines before me (eight and 18 respectively), averaging from seven to 24 letters to a line, are incomplete in every single instance. A few exceptions apart, both the beginning and the end are wanting. About another third of the letters thus extant are marked by the hand of the copyist, Captain Warren, as doubtful.

Finally, certain gaps, several inches wide, occur at times in the very midst of these mutilated characters. And yet, even in this piteous state, the document reveals things of the utmost moment. Leaving what conjectures I have formed till such time when a sight of the (promised) fuller text shall confirm them or cause me to reject them, I shall content myself with a few items, which are absolutely incontestable even now.

"The document starts with the words 'I, Mesha, son of Ch . . .' Whether this be the Mesha who, driven at bay by the three allied armies of Judah, Israel, and Edom, sacrificed his son to save his country, or not, I cannot yet determine; but there is no special reason against the assumption. A king of Mesha's prowess might have spoken of his doings as proudly as is done on this monument. And, what is of much greater weight, the character of the writing, which, in default of a better word, we must still call 'Phœnician,' looks even older than that of many of the Assyrian (Mesopotamian) bilingual cylinders in the British Museum, the date of which is, at the very least, as old as the ninth century B.C., the time of this Biblical Mesha: It is, indeed, the palæographical part of the document which at present seems paramount. Apart from the very primitive character of the whole alphabet as it here occurs, there is one letter (the Kaph) which, to my knowledge, is found on no other Semitic remnant in this peculiar 'Moabite' shape. Next to this point ranks always for the present the geographical importance of this record. There start up with absolute clearness such names as Beth-Bamoth, Beth-Baal-Meou, Horonaim, Dibon, well-known Biblical cities, either situate in Moab ('the names whereof were changed by the 'Israelites,' whence their variations), or temporarily held by Moab. These places, among others, King Mesha on this stele boasts of having 'built.' Indeed, the words 'I built' occur so frequently that they form welcome landmarks to the decipherer. Besides these places which occur in the Bible, I find 'Karkha,' which I venture to identify with Kerek, the later name of the whole country, also the name of a hamlet still in existence. But apart from this, mention is also made repeatedly of 'Israel,' the rival, often hostile power, and 'Chemosh,' the national God of Moab.

"Let this suffice now. The historical as well as the linguistic purport of this find are both so startlingly obvious that nothing need be added at present. I would only beg to urge on your Committee the expediency of leaving no means untried to get possession of as much of this unique Moabite relic as may survive.

"E. DEUTSCH."

Letter II.

MR. DEUTSCH'S LETTER TO THE "TIMES."

SIR,—Notwithstanding very numerous inquiries, I have refrained till now from addressing you further on the subject of the Moabite stone. Since my first letter of the 8th instant appeared in the *Times*, no further original materials had come to hand either from Jerusalem or Paris.

I had received, through the kindness of Count de Vogué, the publi-

cation containing M. Ganneau's restored text; but while nothing could have been more gratifying than the speed with which this document had been prepared and given to the world, I deeply regretted not to be able to avail myself of it as fully as I would fain have wished.

This restoration, which still only represented mutilated fragments of the original text, had been made up from three or four different sources. The first being certain torn rags (*lambeaux fripés et chiffonnés*) of a rubbing taken of the whole stone *in situ*. The characters of this rubbing had, according to M. Ganneau, only left "imperceptible traces." The second element of the restoration were those portions of the broken stone of which Captain Warren had obtained the rubbings independently. On a minutely accurate tracing from these my own first account was based. Thirdly, there had been used for this "restoration" certain small chips of the stone itself; and, fourthly, a copy, "made by an Arab, but indecipherable in itself," of a certain number of lines.

Being in possession of one of these different elements only, viz., the tracing of the two large pieces—indeed, the most important of all—I could not but accord my fullest admiration to the great ingenuity brought to bear upon that restoration. If, in spite of it, I hesitated with my own reading and rendering, such hesitation was due to several causes.

In a monument of this kind all and everything depends upon almost microscopic accuracy. Indeed, the minutest fraction of a stroke, a dot, the bend of however insignificant an appendage to a character, is sometimes of the most vital moment; altering the letter, the word, the structure, the whole sense and purport. Many and many a time has a doubtful sign to be turned to light and shade, and to be subjected to magnifying processes before the decipherer can satisfy himself as to its real original shape. The text in question, however, so far from being an almost photographic *fac-simile*, was avowedly but a lithographed reduction to the third of the size of those characters which M. Ganneau had sent to Paris as his own readings. Neither was there time left to Count de Vogüé for indicating in this lithograph the different materials from which it was made up, save with regard to the two larger fragments. There was no mark as to where the chips came in, where the "rags" were used, or where the "copy of the indecipherable letters" was made to fill up a gap. There, further, was no indication as to whether certain empty spaces belonged to the original stone or were *lacunæ* of destruction.

The editor further spoke of "all the words being divided by points, and the text itself into verses by vertical strokes." Could this *dictum* have been taken literally, such divisions would, indeed, have afforded an invaluable guidance, even in the midst of this destruction. But, although dots and strokes occurred up and down the text, they were absent at times where there was a distinct break, while they were forthcoming at other times, not only in the midst of words, but of letters—in Captain Warren's copy. Also did this text exhibit on closer inspection (owing, no doubt, to the hurry of the preparation) certain little discrepancies with the editor's own Hebrew transcript, from which

he made the translation. Thus line 14 commences in the text with a clear and distinct M where the transcript exhibits Sh: which reading is followed by the translation. The difference thus produced is rather remarkable. With the *m* the word would mean "the next day"; with the *sh* it is rendered "*de la jeunesse (aurore)*." In line 11, the *alef*—which alone would have made the word in question into the imperfect, "*et je tuais*" of the translation—is wanting in the text, but found in the transcript. In line 19 an imperfect *H* is emendated into a *G*, whereby the passage in question becomes, as translated, "*Chamos le (?) chassa*." On the other hand, there were patent several vital discrepancies between M. Ganneau's and Captain Warren's copy of the same pieces—not merely where Captain Warren had marked letters as doubtful, but where he had given them as unimpeachable. Thus the word *Jehovah* was not forthcoming in Captain Warren's copy, while it was clear in the other. Again, where M. Ganneau had "*C'est moi qui ai offert l'holocauste*," I should have read by Captain Warren's copy, "and I dug cisterns." If M. Ganneau had "*Fasse chaque homme un puits dans sa maison*," Mr. Warren traced a distinct additional letter before the supposed word *man*, which made that meaning and structure nugatory.

Yet while such items made it imperative upon me to wait for further information, I could not but differ on some points with the translation even as made from this lithograph. In line 4 I would have rendered "all mine enemies," instead of "*tous les deux*"; for "*la dominion*" I would have substituted the well-known place *Nebo*; and whether or not Karkah was the present Kerek, it seemed to me unquestionably to be the name of a place, and neither "esplanade" nor "*plate-forme*," &c. But such matters were, as I said, not to be pursued on a doubtful basis. Hence my silence.

This morning, however, two letters have come to hand, both of considerable importance—the one from Jerusalem, the other from Paris. The first is from Captain Warren, enclosing a new and full-sized tracing of the larger of the two fragments brought to him since by his Bedouin, which throws a great deal of new light upon the reading, exhibiting some entirely new characters in some places, supplementing others which were doubtful, and correcting many groups of previously different appearance. Though even now I have to confess my inability to give a very lucid translation of either the whole or a considerable part of the monument, certain things have become much clearer to me than they were before. Among other things I have found the *Diblataim*, which I had not in my first copy. The second letter is from Count de Vogué, in reply to my inquiry as to the originals of M. Ganneau's text. He informs me that he has not yet received the "paper squeezes" of the whole monument from that gentleman. "The only thing," he says, "he sent me with his memoir is a tracing made from the squeezes." M. de Vogué fully agrees with me as to the inadvisability of working upon "this incomplete text"; and, what is of still greater moment, he further tells me that since publishing the pamphlet he has received from M. Ganneau a letter, "with emendations and new readings, which

exhibit the first part of the inscription in an *entirely new light*." A few days hence he hopes to be in possession of all the materials, and he most kindly promises to place photographs of them at my disposal, without delay.

It will be well, therefore, if both the learned and the public at large hold their hand for a brief space yet. At this moment there is but one thing certain—that, whether we ever recover the whole of the stone, the fate of which is still uncertain, or must remain satisfied with but half-intelligible fragments, the gain to Palæography and Semitic science is already enormous. It is unquestionably—whatever the precise date of this King Mesha—the very oldest Semitic lapidary record of importance as yet discovered. And, apart from certain geographical and other data given in it which are already incontestable, it illustrates to a hitherto undreamt-of degree the history of our own writing—I mean that which we all use at this hour. Nearly the whole of the Greek alphabet is found here, not merely *similar* to the "Phœnician" shape, but as identical with it as can well be. Not merely such letters as the Δ, Ρ, Μ, Ν, Ξ, Ε, Ο, Κ (Kappa), &c., but even the μ—one of the letters supposed to have been added during the Trojan War by Palamedes (*Pliny*, vii. 56; *Plut. Quedest. Symp.* ix. 3), because not extant in the original "Cadmæan" alphabet—is of constant occurrence here (as *Sameck*). Further will the knotty Digamma question receive a new contribution by the shape of the *vau* in this monument, which is distinctly the Greek τ—another letter of supposed recent origin. Of the new form of the *kaph*, identical with the Greek κ, I have already spoken in my first letter. And another thing will become clear—viz., that the more primitive the characters, the simpler they become; not, as often supposed, the more complicated, as more in accordance with some pictorial prototype. Yet on these and a number of other strikingly interesting points suggested by this precious relic I will not here enlarge.

One remark more; the letter *Teth*, identical, down to the latest Phœnician stage, with the Greek θ, does, curiously enough, not occur in the whole text of either copy.

I hope shortly to be able to report further progress.

Feb. 28.

E. DEUTSCH.

Letter III.*

M. GANNEAU'S LETTER TO THE "TIMES."

MONSIEUR,—Je viens de lire dans un numero du *Times* du 10 Février, qui m'arrive aujourd'hui seulement à Jérusalem, les deux lettres de MM. Grove et Deutsch relatives à la découverte de la stèle Moabite du roi Mesa. Comme mon nom figure incidemment dans la relation de cette découverte, je vous serais obligé de vouloir bien insérer le quelques détails rectificatifs suivants.

Il y a fort longtemps que j'avais connaissance de ce précieux monu-

* This appeared in the *Times* of March 22nd.

ment, comme en fait foi une lettre datée du 20 Octobre, 1869, et adressée par moi à la *Revue de l'Instruction Publique* (17 Février, 1870). Dès le mois de Novembre je possédais un estampage complet, mais, malheureusement, en fort mauvais état, de la pierre intacte. Plus tard, lorsqu'elle fut mise en pièces, j'obtins, en même temps que mon honorable ami le Capitaine Warren, des estampages des même deux grands fragments que ceux dont il a été envoyé copie à M. Grove. A l'aide de mon premier estampage total, qui est aujourd'hui l'unique représentation de l'ensemble du monument, et des estampages partiels qui m'avaient également été apportés, j'avais pu, dès le 18 Janvier, reconstituer la majeure partie du texte entier, et en fixer le sens général. J'envoyai aussitôt à Paris une note destinée à me faire prendre date et à m'assurer la priorité de la découverte et de l'interprétation. Vous trouverez ci-joint la teneur de cette note, insérée le 5 Février au *Journal Officiel*, et reproduite le 6 par le *Journal des Débats*. Je vous serais obligé d'en mettre le contenu sous les yeux de vos lecteurs. Le 22 Janvier je fis parvenir à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, par le bienveillant intermédiaire du Comte de Vogüé, une première communication, comprenant : (1) le monument restitué en entier, sauf quelques lacunes minimes ; (2) une transcription générale en caractères Hébreux carrés ; (3) un essai de traduction ; (4) un commencement de commentaire détaillé, où les principales questions de chronologie et d'identifications historiques étaient étudiées ; (5) une relation de la découverte. Je remis, le même jour, à mon honorable ami le Capitaine Warren une petite dissertation, extraite de mon mémoire, et dans laquelle je donnais l'explication due deux fragments dont il possédait, comme moi, un estampage, avec transcription, traduction, et discussion historique.

Cette note fut transmise par le Capitaine Warren à M. Grove, avec la copie des deux morceaux. Aussi n'est-ce pas sans un certain étonnement que je retrouve dans la lettre de M. Deutsch du 10 Février, écrite à la demande de M. Grove, des conclusions tout-à-fait semblables aux miennes sur l'interprétation de ce monument, sans qu'il soit fait mention de mon travail, qui cependant devait être en les mains de M. Grove.

Je désirerais vivement que les faits fussent rétablis dans leur exactitude ; je ne doute pas un seul instant de la loyauté de deux honorables gentlemen, et je suis persuadé qu'il me suffira de leur signaler cette regrettable omission pour qu'elle soit aussitôt réparée. Je puis, d'ailleurs, invoquer le témoignage du Capitaine Warren, la publication de ma note au *Journal Officiel* cinq jours avant la lettre de M. Deutsch, et enfin le témoignage de M. Grove lui-même, qui doit avoir encore entre les mains ma petite dissertation, jointe à la copie des fragments, et peut la faire imprimer, pour lever toute difficulté. Ce serait le meilleur moyen de résoudre cette question délicate.

Je saisis cette occasion pour faire connaître au monde savant que cet inestimable monument, qu'on pouvait croire un moment perdu pour la science, lui appartiendra désormais presque en entier. Je possède, en effet, en dehors de l'estampage général mentionné plus haut (pris

sur la stèle intacte), et de quelques morceaux plus ou moins importants, le fragment même de basalte qui contient le nom du roi Mesa, et environ huit lignes d'écriture; c'est le morceau capital, et comme la clef de tout le monument. Quant à l'autre grand fragment, il est plus que probable qu'au moment où cette lettre paraîtra il m'aura déjà été livré par les Bédouins de qui je l'ai acquis.

Agrérez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Drogman-
Chancelier intérimaire du Consulat de
France en Palestine.

Jérusalem, 2 Mars, 1870.

“ Un monument archéologique d'une importance capitale vient d'être découvert par M. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, drogman-chancelier intérimaire du consulat de France à Jérusalem. C'est une grande stèle de basalte trouvée à l'est de la mer Morte, sur le territoire des anciens Moabites.

“ Sur cette stèle est gravée une inscription de plus de trente lignes, en caractères Phéniciens, débutant par ces mots :— ‘ Moi, Mesa, fils de Chamos. ’ Or, Mesa est un roi de Moab, mentionné dans la Bible, et contemporain du prophète Elisée, de Josaphat, roi de Juda, d'Achab, d'Ochozias, et de Joram, rois d'Israël. Les troisième et quatrième chapitres du livre II. des *Rois* nous donnent le récit détaillé de la campagne entreprise, de concert par Joram et Josaphat, contre Mesa, roi de Moab. La stèle Moabite raconte également la lutte de Mesa contre le roi d'Israël, et énumère les villes construites et les temples élevés par Mesa, et consacrés par lui au dieu national des Moabites, à Chamos.

“ L'âge de ce monument est déterminé matériellement par le synchronisme qu'il offre avec l'histoire Juive; il remonte à neuf siècles avant l'ère Chrétienne, et est postérieur d'environ une centaine d'années au règne de Salomon. Il est antérieur de près de deux siècles au célèbre sarcophage d'Echmonnazar, roi de Sidon.

“ Les caractères Phéniciens avec lesquels est écrite l'inscription présentent un aspect archaïque qu'on ne retrouve au même degré dans aucun des monuments Phéniciens connus jusqu'ici. L'inscription se déchiffre cependant avec une certitude pour ainsi dire absolue, parce que tous les mots sont séparés par des points, et toutes les phrases divisées par des barres vorticales. La langue est, sauf quelques légères différences orthographiques, de l'Hébreu pur, et l'on croirait, en lisant ce texte, lire une page de la Bible; la coupe par versets et le parallélisme des expressions complètent l'illusion. Les Moabites appartenaient d'ailleurs, comme on le sait, à la même race que les Hébreux.

“ Ce texte précieux, qui permet de contrôler, par un document contemporain des événements, la valeur des récits historiques de la Bible, et qui apportera à l'ethnographie, à la mythologie, à la géographie, à la linguistique, et à la paléographie les plus riches contributions, vient d'être

envoyé à l'Académie des Inscriptions par M. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, avec une dissertation qui sera immédiatement publiée."

Letter IV.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

March 23rd.

Sir,—As soon as my letter in the *Times* of the 3rd inst. reaches M. Ganneau it will reassure him on two points—1, that through the kind offices of M. de Vogüé he has secured that *priorité de l'interprétation* which he appears to have so much at heart; 2, that so far from my having at any time arrived at *conclusions tout à fait semblables sur l'interprétation de ce monument*, I have as distinctly as possible protested against the very possibility of *conclusions* in the present state of the text—save inasmuch as, to my very great regret, I was compelled, from reasons very explicitly stated in that letter, to reject the bulk of M. Ganneau's restoration, transcript, interpretation, and all.

I might well leave the matter here, merely referring to my previous letters. But as I am desirous that not the slightest shadow should rest upon a discovery of this kind, I may briefly state the nature of the document handed over by M. Ganneau to Captain Warren for transmission to England, in exchange for the avowedly better tracings which the latter had obtained and placed at his disposal. It was not a tracing of his own *estampage de la pierre intact*, but contained, in the first place, that "dissertation," of which he darkly hints that I have made secret use. He therefore wishes to see it printed in your columns. His desire has long been anticipated. The fact is that it appeared in your columns before my own first letter. For it consists simply of that rather startling paragraph which had made the round of the foreign and English press even before Captain Warren's tracings had reached England. It was first given to the world, according to M. Ganneau's own showing, in the *Journal Officiel* of February 5th. The only thing suppressed in that paragraph was the account of that strange "restoration" on which I have since dwelt at some length.

Also have I dwelt on its *pour ainsi dire absolue* certainty of M. Ganneau's deciphering, on its *l'on croirait en lisant ce texte lire une page de la Bible*, the "illusion" being *complétée par la coupe par versets et le parallélisme des expressions*; and, finally, on its confident statement that "all the words were divided by points, and all the phrases by vertical strokes"—to all of which assertions Captain Warren's tracings gave the most distinct denial. So far from reading out of them, or into them, "a page of the Bible," I was fain to confess in both my letters that, important as the stone seemed to me, I could only be perfectly sure as yet of certain geographical names (one not hitherto known, the same which M. Ganneau rendered *esplanade*, or *plate-forme*) and of certain special items of palæographical import with reference to Assyrian and "Mesopotamian" relics in the British Museum.

I did not even perceive that Mesha's father was Chemosh, as it appeared from that "dissertation." All I could see clearly in my copy

was a Ch—; nay, I even refrained from, for the present, conclusively identifying this Mesha with the only Biblical Mesha known, though I saw no very special reasons against it. As for finding in my copy anything like the "3rd and 4th Chapters of Kings," I might as well have found in it an account of the battle of Waterloo.

M. Ganneau's document in question further contained a so-called translation "*des mots*," strictly limited to those which he read out of Captain Warren's fragments.

As the whole translation by M. Ganneau of his full text has likewise appeared in your columns (of the 22nd of February), his wish has thus far also been anticipated. My second letter has likewise dealt with this interpretation.

If common courtesy prevented me from publicly giving any opinion on the like labours, while they only existed in a fragmentary and MS. state, I have, since Count de Vogüé made them public property by his pamphlet, spoken with no uncertain sound. But even then I would fain have been silent had it not been out of regard for the learned world, whose time I did not wish to be wasted any longer on what I knew to be, and what the editor, Count de Vogüé himself, has since called an unsound basis.

I regret to add that I still look in vain for the photographs of M. Ganneau's various materials, the originals of which do not yet seem to have reached Europe.

E. DEUTSCH.

Letter V.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

Sir,—As M. Clermont-Ganneau has expressed his astonishment at my having passed over the "little dissertation" which he says was sent me by Captain Warren, I beg leave to say (though I should otherwise have remained silent) that I have never seen that document, and know nothing whatever of its existence, though I infer from Mr. Deutsch's letter in your columns that he has had it. As, however, my object was to discover for myself, through the medium of Mr. Deutsch, what the tracings sent home by Captain Warren really meant, I should not have advised the use of M. Ganneau's "interpretation," or "dissertation," even had I possessed it, and Mr. Deutsch's letter makes it pretty plain that he acted on the same independent plan.

I was certainly wrong in my letter of the 8th of February, in speaking of Captain Warren as the discoverer of the stone. It appears that the real discoverer was Mr. Klein, of the Prussian Community in Jerusalem, who first saw it many months ago. No doubt, therefore, my word "discovery" was wrong; but, seeing that Captain Warren had managed to procure good working impressions of two portions of the stone, amounting to about half the entire surface, while no one else had any but very bad ones—virtually illegible—I think the word, though inaccurate, was hardly too strong to designate his important part in the transaction.

Your obedient servant,

GEORGE GROVE,

Hon. Sec. Palestine Fund.

Sydenham, March 23rd.

CAPTAIN WARREN'S FULLER ACCOUNT OF THE MOABITE STONE, RECEIVED
MARCH 28, 1870.

11th March, 1870.

The inscribed stone at Dhibán appears to have been first seen in the summer of 1868 by the Rev. F. Klein, of the Church Missionary Society, when on a journey from es-Salt to Kerak, over a country that has been visited this century but twice or thrice by Europeans.

A few weeks after Mr. Klein's visit, a man from Kerak came to tell me about a black stone covered with writing on the east side of the Dead Sea, and on making inquiries I learnt that Mr. Klein's party had drawn attention to it, and that the Prussian Consul was moving in the matter to get possession of it.

I did not feel at liberty to concern myself in the matter until the spring of 1869, when the Rev. Dr. Barclay related the circumstances of the case to M. Ganneau and myself, and we both expressed our surprise to hear that no squeeze or copy of the stone had been taken.

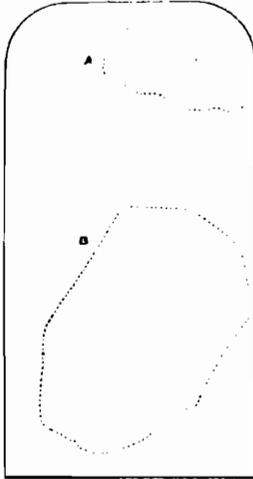
I wrote home and mentioned the circumstance to the secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and also to a member of the Palestine Exploration Fund Committee at the British Museum, but by next mail I wrote to say that I heard that the Prussian Consul had obtained a firman for the stone, and that information on the subject must be obtained at Berlin before I could take any action in the matter.

In the meantime I had called on Mr. Klein, in company with Dr. Barclay, to ask about the stone, but could hear nothing more than I already knew, except that measures were still being taken to secure the stone.

I left Jerusalem in July, 1869, for the Lebanon, and did not return until November; on the road half-way up from Jaffa, an Adwán came to meet me, and after a good deal of talk told me that the stone at Dhibán was broken, and as a proof produced a piece of it, with letters on (squeeze forwarded 22nd December, 1869),* which he gave to me.

I saw him next day, and he told me that the French Consul (meaning M. Clermont-Ganneau) had sent down to get a squeeze but had failed, and that there had been a fight over it; he also said that the Governor of Nablús, through the Modtr of es-Salt, had put pressure upon the Bedouins to obtain the stone, and that they, sooner than give it up, had put fire

* This letter must have miscarried, unless the date is in error for 22nd January, 1870, the date of the first letter forwarding a tracing which was received at the office.



Rough diagram of the Stone, showing the two large fragments referred to in the letters. Reduced from Captain Warren's sketch.

under it and thrown water on it, and had so broken it up, but that there were still some pieces left.

On seeing that there really was a chance of the stone being lost to the world, I gave the man squeeze-paper and sent him off at once.

In a few days he appeared with a squeeze of a Nabatean inscription from Umm ar-Russas (copy sent home), which at first he said was from the Dhibán stone. I sent him down again after the real stone, and in the meantime M. Ganneau came, and told me that he had not quite failed in getting a squeeze of the whole stone, but that it was a most imperfect one, and in fragments. He afterwards showed it me, and I showed him and M. de Vogué (who was then in Jerusalem) the broken piece in my possession, which was then the only piece which had been brought up.

On the 15th January (about) my Bedouin returned with two excellent squeezes of the two large fragments of the broken stone, and also with some small pieces, twelve in number, with a letter or two on each. I wrote and offered to M. Ganneau the use of my squeezes, in order to make his own imperfect squeeze of service. He came and took copies of them, and very kindly offered to give me a translation of them. This translation I forwarded home on 22nd January, with copies of the squeezes.

By a curious coincidence, M. Ganneau's Bedouin brought up squeezes of the two fragments the same morning as mine did; but in each squeeze parts were more or less perfect than in the other. His squeezes appeared to be taken with my squeeze-paper.

I now sent my Bedouin down again, to get the smaller fragment of the stone, understanding that M. Ganneau was more interested in the larger one. However, my Bedouin says they bid against each other for the smaller stone, and as the other had taken down money with him to get the stone, he acquired it. My Bedouin came to say that if I gave him a higher sum he could get the stone still; but I informed M. Ganneau of this, to put him on his guard, and sent my man after the larger fragment.

My Bedouin at this time brought me a very excellent squeeze of the larger fragment, which I showed to M. Ganneau, and sent a copy home 4th Feb., 1870.

As I had received no instructions from home about this stone here, I did not risk any money in sending it down, but offered a fixed sum if the stone should be delivered to me. Goblan has sent up to say that he is waiting till M. Ganneau's Bedouin has had his try at getting the larger fragment, and then if he fails he will step in and get the stone for me.

I may mention that on getting the first squeeze of the stone I called on the present Prussian consul and mentioned the circumstance to him, and also wrote to inform the late Prussian consul, who was interested in the matter, and is now at Berlin.

I have been particular in mentioning these points, because, from a letter which appeared in the *Times*, 10th February, it might appear that I had interfered in the matter while the Prussians were engaged in it, and I wish it to be clearly understood that I in no way meddled in the matter until I heard the stone was broken, and there was a chance of its being lost to the world.

Whether the stone got to Berlin, London, or Paris appeared to me to be a small matter compared with the rescuing of the inscription from oblivion, and it seemed to me essential that only one party should move in the matter at a time; when I came back from the Lebanon and heard that the Prussians and French had both failed, I thought it my time to move, and was unaware that M. Ganneau was still moving in the matter, until I had already sent down twice and got up a squeeze.

I consider that our success in getting up the squeezes and part of the stone without hindrance from each other is due to the *entente cordial* which existed between us; for if any jealousy had existed we might neither of us have done anything, and the inscription would have still been lost to the world; and I now with pleasure record my acknowledgment of M. Ganneau's honourable and upright conduct in this delicate matter so far as I have been concerned in it.

EXTRACT FROM THE "TIMES," FEB. 22, 1870, ON THE COUNT DE VOGÜÉ'S PAMPHLET.

The inscription is published by M. de Vogüé in the original Phœnician and in the Hebrew character, the language being so closely related to the Hebrew as to be scarcely distinguishable from it. M. de Vogüé is enthusiastic at the discovery, and thus writes on the subject:—"I venture to say that there does not exist in the domain of Hebrew antiquities a document which can be compared with it. It is the only authentic and original Biblical monument which has been found up to the present time. Indeed, according to M. Ganneau, the King Mesha is no other than the King of Moab whose bloody wars the Bible recounts, and who was contemporary with the Kings of Israel, Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram. I entirely share that opinion; I even think that with the aid of the Biblical documents one may determine the year in which our inscription was made."

M. de Vogüé then refers to 2 Kings, chapters i. and iii.; to 2 Chronicles, chapter xx.; and to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* ix., 2 and 3). He gives a sketch of the events, and adds:—"The only period of this tragic history in which the successful campaign mentioned on the pillar of Dibon can be placed appears to me to be that of the first revolt of Mesha. . . . Victorious at Yahatz and at Dibon, he erected the pillar as a monument of his victory; then, emboldened by success, he undertook against the King of Judah the campaign which was to have so gloomy an end."

"If my conjectures," he adds, "are well founded, the pillar was engraved in the second year of the reign of Ahaziah, King of Israel—that is, following the chronology generally adopted, the year 896 before the Christian era."

We subjoin the translation as given by M. de Vogüé:—

TRADUCTION.

1. Moi, je suis Mesa, fils de Chamos [nadab] ? roi
2. || Mon père régnait sur Moab et moi j'ai
3. régné après mon père || Et j'ai construit ce *haut lieu* (sanctuaire), avec sa plate-forme (?), pour Chamos
4. (Je m'appelle) *Mesa*, parce qu'il (Chamos) m'a sauvé de tous les a tous les deux (?).
5. du roi d'Israël et il opprima Moab Chamos s'irrita
6. || Et il le changea j'opprimerai (j'ai opprimé ?) Moab. || Dans mes jours j'ai (ou il a ?) dit
7. et je le vis, lui et sa maison (son temple ?) || Et Israël fut dispersé, dispersé pour toujours, et Omri s'empara de
8. Médeba (?) et y demeura il construisit quarante
9. où Chamos est (dominant) dans mes jours (aujourd'hui) || Et je construisis Baal-Meon et j'y sacrifiai || Et je construisis
10. Qiriat-haim || Et envahit la terre anciennement; et se construisit
11. le roi d'Israël la (ville de) || Et je combattis à Qir ou: je fis le siège) je le pris || Et Je tuai tous les

12. (*sacrifice* ?) pour Chamos et pour Moab ||
13. devant la face de Chamos, à Qerioth, || Et j'y fis prisonniers les hommes
(vieux ?) et les
14. de la jeunesse (aurors) || Et Chamos me dit : Va ! prends la domination sur Israël. ||
15. J'allai de nuit, et je combattis avec lui depuis le..... de l'aube, jusqu'à midi || et je.....
16. tout entier.....
17. qui est pour Astar Chamos.....
18. devant la face de Chamos || Et le roi d'Israël (vint à
19. Yahas, et y demeura (jusqu'à ?) mon combat avec lui || Et Chamos le chassa de.....
20. Je pris de Moab deux cents hommes en tout || Et je les fit monter (les comptai) à Yahas,
et je.....
21. sur Dibon || . C'est moi qui ai construit l'esplanade (?), les murs de Yearim (?)
et les murs de.....
22. Et c'est moi qui ai construit ses portes, et c'est moi qui ai construit sa forteresse
|| Et c'est.....
23. moi qui ai construit Bet-Moloch || Et c'est moi qui ai fait les deux.....
24. Qir || Et il n'y avait pas de puits dans l'intérieur de Qir, sur son esplanade. Et
je dis à tout le peuple : Fasse
25. chaque homme un puits dans sa maison || C'est moi qui ai offert l'holocauste, sur
l'esplanade (?) dans.....
26. Israël. || C'est moi qui ai construit Aroër (?), et c'est moi qui ai fait la route de
l'Arnon.
27. C'est moi qui ai construit Bet Bamoth, qui était détruite (?) || C'est moi qui ai construit
Bosor, qui.....
28. Dibon, des chefs militaires, pour que tout Dibon fût soumis || Et moi j'ai.....
29. avec les villes que j'ai ajoutées à la terre || Et c'est moi qui ai construit.....
30. Bet-Diblahaim || Et Bet Baal-Meon, et j'ai érigés là le.....
31. la terre || Et Horonaim, où résida.....
32. Chamos me dit : Combats à Horonaim || Et je.....
33. Chamos..... sur.....
34.

THE TEMPLES OF CŒLE-SYRIA.

BY CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.

CŒLE-SYRIA, consisting of the fruitful Buk'a'a, closed in by the water-producing hills of the Lebanons, has from remote ages flourished and abounded in cities.

The rich plain, in peaceful times, would support an immense population, which, in time of war, has only to retire to the mountain fastnesses to be secure against attack, and where the soil is sufficiently productive to support it; it is, however, apparent that the country owes its chief wealth to the fertile plain below, which in the season is one unbroken expanse of corn as far as the eye can reach.

In early times, there can be little doubt that the summits of the hills were the more important places of worship, and temples may have been erected on them; but the temples, the remains of which now exist, appear to have been essentially temples of the plain. It is true, Saint Jerome tells us that in his time there was a remarkable temple on the summit of Mount Hermon, in which the heathen from the region of Pnias and Lebanon met for worship. But it does not follow from this that they were the same people who worshipped in the temples down below. Probably at that time, as now, there were several religious sects in the country; some, perhaps, following the old sun worship, others the worship of the celestial gods, others that of heroes, and, probably, many adopting a mixture of all.

We have now in the country several distinct sects of Christians, two distinct sects of Moslems, and also two sects of which very little is known;